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A  
CANDID REFUTATION  
OF THE  
CHARGES  
Brought against the  
PRESENT MINISTERS.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

[ Price One Shilling. ]

XXXXXX

A  
GANDID REPUTATION

OF THE

CHARGES

of the



PRESTON MINISTERS.

XXXXXX

[ Price One Shilling. ]



A  
CANDID REFUTATION  
OF THE  
CHARGES

Brought against the  
PRESENT MINISTERS,

In a late PAMPHLET, entitled

*The Principles of the late Changes  
impartially examined,*

In a LETTER to the supposed Author.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for F. NEWBERRY, in *Pater-noster-Row*.

MDCCLXV.

A

CANDID REFUTATION

OF THE

CHARGES

Brought against the

PRESIDENT MINISTERS

In a Letter to the supposed Author



The Prince of Wales

in answer to a Letter

In a Letter to the supposed Author

L O N D O N :

Printed by T. Newbery, in Pall-mall.

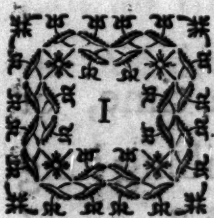
MDCCLXXV.



A

LETTER  
TO THE  
SUPPOSED AUTHOR, &c.

MY LORD,



WILL not employ as many pages to prove the shop, from whence The PRINCIPLES OF THE LATE CHANGES came, as your Lordship's scribe has done, to prove the quarter of nativity of a silly letter, which he afterwards leaves in doubt. Indeed whether it were material or not, it is a

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matter



matter so plain, that a reader of but very common understanding, who has the least knowledge of the present political Chiefs, can scarce go through half a dozen pages, without pronouncing it to be the very creed of your Lordship. I will not therefore, make a dull derivation, of what every man may see with his own eyes, but take the several charges of the pamphlet into consideration; and from a plain representation of the most important facts, deduce a refutation to every one of them.

I will not waste my own time, or your Lordship's, with transcribing long passages, but reduce the substance of what is material, or worth my notice, into a few words, which, for brevity's sake, I shall not make use of your Lordship's; but those of an elegant and well informed writer; which, though

though few, are yet too valuable, and contain too faithful a narrative of the late extraordinary transactions to be lost in the common channel, where they originally appeared. *His* words, and *his* state of those *facts*, mentioned in The PRINCIPLES, I shall make use of, as the most pertinent to the present purpose, the most candid, decent, lively, and entertaining. They contain not only a full, but a fair answer, to every thing in The PRINCIPLES, that can in the least affect the present set of Ministers, and as to what regards the Favourite, I shall leave to his advocates the vindication of *him* from that enormous weight of guilt and suspicion, with which he is so unmercifully and cruelly loaded in The PRINCIPLES; not doubting but that *truth* will as essentially favour *his* cause as I am sure she does *mine*.

That

That The PRINCIPLES, contain nothing more than a dull, spun-out repetition of the trite charges, against the present set of ministers, which have been hackneyed about in all the news-papers, for these three months, I appeal to every sensible intelligent person in the kingdom. It is the daring and insolent manner in which these charges are repeated, that at length renders them worthy of notice; and more particularly when we see them brought forth in a publication, that in many respects carries with it the appearance of *authority*; whose authority I shall not say, but your L--'s *fiat* it most undoubtedly seems to bear. Granting that supposition, (which hitherto I have not found any body hardy enough to dispute,) the piece certainly merits serious attention, as well because it may be considered as the opening of  
the



the political campaign, as because it is supposed to contain the creed of one of the commanders in chief.--But I will no longer detain your Lordship with any immaterial remarks on that singular publication, but hasten to the matter, which, as I said before, contains, a full and satisfactory answer to every thing that can in the least affect the present set of Ministers ; and which I make no doubt will appear to every impartial bye-stander as a very fair and sufficient vindication ; and I desire nothing more, than to leave the merits of this cause, to the understanding of any plain, unprejudiced person, who shall candidly read both publications. Let him decide who is right, and which most deserving of his confidence and approbation.

The charges brought against the present Ministers may be fairly reduced to these, That

That they are the instruments of the Favourite.

That neither Mr. P— nor Lord T. are with them : and

That they are young, and unexperienced.

The first charge, is the most material and heavy, and should not have been produced without some proofs, which, I will venture to assert, not the least shadow of any are to be found in *The PRINCIPLES*. The *name* of the Favourite is indeed justly odious to every Englishman. By his private influence he first wormed out of power that great Minister, who by his abilities and spirit had made us an happy, united and confiding people at home ; and abroad by the vigour of his measures had raised the British name to a higher pitch of glory, than had ever been known. He then proceeded to re-  
move

move the other Ministers of the late K—; and when he had absolutely possessed himself of the Ministry, finding an extensive war too great a burden for his poor parts and abilities; patched up with France a peace, upon terms more infamous than any this country had ever submitted to, those of Utrecht not excepted. Upon some gentlemen refusing their parliamentary sanction to this measure, he turned out of place every person who was preferred by his predecessor; not only those who voted against him, but even those who could have no votes any where, the women and the children; he betrayed his ignorance of the finances, by a loan very disadvantageous to the public, and a partial excise, not laid on the tradesman and retailer, but on the farmer and labourer,



labourer, who had never known that method of taxing.

Having in a short and violent administration revived the spirit of party, given general disgust to the people, betrayed the allies of the crown, and sullied the honour and faith of the British name; he in a panic quitted the stage, and retired behind the curtain; *What has he been doing there, I do not enquire.* But does any thing in The PRINCIPLES go to prove that *he made* the present Ministers? I will take upon me to answer in the negative. Then let us see what marks have the present Ministers shewn of their dependance on him. Have they restored his brother to his place and power? No. Did they pay their court to him, by recommending general A'Court to a regiment, or by dismissing from two lucrative employments,

ments, his intimate friend, to whom he intrusted his proxy in parliament, and his private confidential secretary? Surely not. If they have not imitated his barbarous policy, by turning out of place, every man that was promoted by him, it is to be attributed to a nobler motive, their generosity and moderation, which suggest to them the restoring their injured friends, and afterwards making as few removes as the situation of affairs would allow; not to a mean dependance on a man, who is so hated that every one is obliged to disown a connexion with him. His measures when he was in the zenith of his power they publicly opposed like honest men, and are not likely to court him at a time when he is so low, that no one dares avow him or his cause.

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But it is not from the promotion of this or that man we are to calculate the independence of a Ministry. Promotions must necessarily depend very much on the merit of men and the fitness for employment ; sometimes on private favour, and on interests and connexions, which it is difficult for the most knowing to develope. If we would make a true judgement of the men must go further. If they follow in the track traced out to their predecessors by the Favourite, if they adopt his measures, and act upon those principles of government, which he professes ; it is very immaterial to the people of England, whether they are or are not connected with him ; I will have no dispute about words with any man, but will very willingly consent to their being called his instruments. But on the contrary, if they proceed



proceed like true friends to their country to consider the mischief he did and (as far as circumstances will allow) to repair it; if in parliament, they without waiting for the customary time and form of opening the *Budget*, will with honesty and spirit, as I do not doubt; lay before that august assembly the state of the treasury as they found it, and its present condition; if they repeal *his* excise bill, which necessarily introduces that officer into private houses; if they give the subject that security to his person, his house and his papers, which the late Ministers, in a case personal to the *Favourite*, violated in so outrageous a manner, and afterwards maintaining what they had done so violently, and so much in defiance of the law and the constitution; if they manifest a spirited regard for the liberty and independence

dependance of Europe, and by all proper means endeavour to establish a balance against the Bourbon family compact, then may a fair comparison be drawn of the merits of the late and present Ministry : their enemies may if they please clamour about this or that person being in, or out of place ; but I trust that a people, who see their liberties secure, and their interests faithfully attended to, will rejoice in the change, and not be induced to withdraw their confidence from a set of men, who by their conduct when in opposition had acquired it.

I will conclude the examination of this article concerning the dependence of the present Ministry on the *Favourite*, with one observation that I think carries conviction with it, and makes it the highest improbability that they are, or ever will be, his instruments  
or

or dupes. Which is, that they know if any attention is given to the insidious and pernicious whisperings of the *Favourite*; the more partriotic, the more spirited their measures, the shorter would be the duration of their Ministry; experience having demonstrated that the greatest success and merit in administration, was incapable of giving permanency, while he had influence. They must therefore be devoid of all that noble spirit of independency, that integrity and good sense, they were allowed while they opposed his measures, and those of his servile successors. And we may truly say, if they with experience before them, have accepted their offices on those terms *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat.*

The next charge brought against the present set of Ministers is, that  
neither



neither Mr. P. nor Lord T. are with them. There is no man who has a higher veneration for the character of Mr. P. than I have, nor is more concerned that he is not at this day the king's Minister. And I am persuaded that every one of the present Ministers would with pleasure resign his own post to that great man. But whose fault is it that Mr. P— is not now in the place which he formerly filled with so much honour to himself, and advantage to his country? did any of the present Ministers prevent his undertaking the king's business? did they decline co-operating with him, or refuse him support? no man will dare to say it. Every body knows that Mr. P—'s difficulty arose from L— T—

How his lordship came to see clearer than Mr. P. is a difficulty, I will not  
take

take upon me to explain. But this much I will say, that the penetration of Mr. P. has hitherto been deemed sufficient for other men to form their judgments by; and I am confident, that it has always most remarkably, as well as most nobly and successfully guided his own.

At the latter end of the last Session parliament, though the late M--s were supported by a great Majority, there appeared many sure symptoms of their fall, without considering their private behaviour, which, if they are not extremely misrepresented, was enough to provoke the resentment of the mildest master. The Nation lately emerged from an expensive, though just and glorious war, by a peace, the terms of which gave satisfaction to very few, naturally expected that they, who had given up to an inveterate

terate enemy; so many of our foreign conquests, would apply themselves with zeal and industry to improve those acquisitions which remained ; to regulate our revenue ; increase our trade ; and, by cultivating all the arts of peace, augment our natural strength. But instead of these things, we heard of nothing but our ministers seizing for themselves and their children, every beneficial patent and reversion ; alarming the people with personal attacks on the liberty of the subject, and afterwards using every mean subterfuge, to evade national justice ; while the revenue was in no better, if not in a worse condition, than at the conclusion of the war ; public credit at a low ebb ; the people uneasy ; the colonies discontented and mutinous : and our allies alienated, by a peace, which left us without faith,

and



and without Friends throughout Europe. National disgrace and distress, generally calls forth men of virtue and abilities. In this melancholy situation of affairs, it was natural for a prince who has a tender affection for his people, and a quick sense of his own honour, to cast his eye on the man during whose able administration, Britain had lately viewed the happy reverse of this whole scene. Accordingly Mr. P— had, soon after the session of parliament, the honour of an audience of the king; and in two or three days a second; soon after which it was publickly said that the Ministry had been offered to him, and that with all due acknowledgments he undertook the conduct of it. It cannot therefore admit of the least doubt but that the engagements Mr. P— entered into with the K— were agreeable to the

nicest punctilios of honor, and the interest of the nation, of which, with all deference to L. T. we may suppose Mr. P— a very competent judge. L— T. was all this time in the country. When he came to town he refused the offer of the most considerable employment under the king's government ; upon which Mr. P.— also thought proper to decline the offer the K— had made him so much to his honor. The only reason to be found in The PRINCIPLES for L. T--'s behaviour is his *Tenderness*, and *Delicacies*. Of what nature this *Tenderness*, and these *Delicacies* are, I protest I do not know, nor has even The PRINCIPLES afforded me the least assistance. They *must* of necessity relate to either the Favourite or Mr. G—. Why does not the writer of The PRINCIPLES tell us which?—Was that noble L—, (who

(who had so publicly defended the man who had so flagrantly and most unpardonably offended r--y—lty) so *tender* in the —'s presence, that he would not explain himself? or are his *Delicacies* now so great, that he considers any explanation of his conduct at a certain place, as an unpardonable breach of confidence?

That there is something unaccountable in this whole affair is very certain. But which for the ease and satisfaction of a suffering people ought to be brought to light. And if there are any where any secret authors, as the writer of *The PRINCIPLES* very strongly insinuates, of our many and insupportable calamities, who have been hitherto screened from public justice by an unwarrantable protection, let the patriots, as they call themselves, exhibit



hibit their crimes ; and the nation will do honour to their public spirit. That there is a *secret* cause, many people are inclined to believe ; but must a nation be ruined, because one great man had his *Tenderness* and his *Delicacies*, and another great man thought proper to subscribe to them ?

It is well enough known that Mr. P— in the audiences he had of the K— submitted to his M—y's consideration his ideas of our foreign and domestic interests ; in this, with his usual superiority of thinking, he pointed out measures, not men. If another Ministry, who at the K-'s command undertook the conduct of affairs, and who do not claim Mr. P—'s merit with the people, are not able (for want of that torrent of popularity which

which would have supported him in all his measures ) to effect every thing he designed for the good of his country, to whom is the misfortune to be attributed ? In truth, if there are jealousies and suspicions still remaining among the people ; if there is any weakness in our counsels ; if the people suffer any imaginary or real evils for want of Mr. P— at the helm “ si recte ratiocinabimur, uni accepta referemus Antonio.”

It is no secret that a certain noble L. laid it down as a certainty, that the *Favourite* through the D--of C-- ruled the present Ministers, in as absolute a manner as he did the late ; but how is this proved ? By assertion only : and with such assertions The PRINCIPLES abounds.

But

But the reasoning and impartial part of the nation will form their judgements as they ought to do from the conduct of the Ministry, which I have already shewn to be diametrically opposite to that of the *Favourite* and his late tools. In the same manner it is confidently given out, and has been published in the public papers, that Mr. P. disapproves of the nomination of the present Ministers and will not give them his support. I should be very glad to know the person to whom Mr. P. said this: for those writers must excuse me if I do not take it upon trust from them. Their zeal for Mr. P--'s honour, and their earnest desire to see him at the head of the --'s councils are of a very modern date. I never heard of any respect they paid him when they were in power, nor of any support he



he gave to their measures. But on the contrary when his health permitted him to attend his duty in parliament, *the gentle Shepherd* may possibly recollect what his behaviour was there, whom he supported, and whom he opposed. The present Ministers have acted uniformly in conjunction with him. To whom may we naturally suppose Mr. P. would desire to see the conduct of our affairs committed, if he could not undertake them himself, but to those who in parliament condemned that treaty of peace which reversed his whole system of foreign affairs; who supported him in his honest struggle for the laws and liberty of the people; who if he had been able to undertake, would from principle have given him their zealous support; and now, as far as they are able,

able, act upon his principles, and follow the Plan which he traced out to his M——y.

But the objection of the Favourite governing by the D. of C. being now removed by the signal event of his r——h——'s much lamented death, we have a right to know, considered as an injured people, calling for aid, and therefore we demand it of his l——p, or his friends, what motives can now restrain him from coming with his illustrious brother-in-law, to the Head of the administration, and taking once more the Direction of public affairs. Their friends positively assert the present Ministers are incapable; that they are unequal to the task they have undertaken. If so (though nobody believes these assertions) for God's sake why then do not lord T. and Mr. P. come forth, and  
relieve

relieve this almost ruined country? The time is not far off, when they will be called upon in the solemn and publick manner for their reasons. It cannot be expected that a whole nation on the verge of destruction will be trifled with. Unlimited confidence has been placed both in Mr. P. and L. T. and undoubtedly they are both men of great abilities; and perhaps, taken together, are equal to the Services of which this country stands in such pressing and absolute need. But the continual answer is, that the *Favourite* still governs in *secret*. How does he govern? By whom? or in what instance? Shew me, and I will join Mr. P. and L. T. in their most bitter abhorrence of the present ministers.

There is no doubt, but that the Ministry was offered to Mr. P. and that L. T. by refusing to engage, E disabled



disabled him from accepting. Upon which, the K. called to his service, three unexceptionable men, of known affection to our laws and constitution, who had all of them formerly been turned out of employments by the *Favourite's* influence, for supporting Mr. P's measures.

Upon what principles, or for what reason can Mr. P. possibly disapprove of this nomination, or obstruct their measures? Can it be supposed that Mr. P. when he cannot be Minister himself, will suffer no one else in that post? His moderate conduct, from the day he was driven out of power by the *Favourite*, to the present hour, shews him to be incapable of so unreasonable a proceeding. On the contrary, it has been published, that Mr. P. advised gentlemen, who professed themselves particularly attached to him,

him, and who would not willingly have engaged without him, to take places under this Ministry. And I do not believe that he has to any man, expressed the least disapprobation of the present Ministers for undertaking, or of any man for accepting with them, nor would believe it, even though Sir F. N. should affirm, and in proof of his assertion, produce me a letter from Mr. P. as authentic as that which was printed in the News-papers.

I do not suppose that Mr. P--- has taken upon himself to answer for the behaviour and conduct of the present Ministers. It is impossible for him to foresee how they, or any other set of men, will act upon many events that may arise. It would be very imprudent in him to give them such a character as would preclude him from declaring his opinion upon any future occasion.

occasion. But if you should want to know his *comparative* opinion of them, I believe he would not scruple to declare, that he thinks them a better ministry than the last. But however if we are to have no confidence in the persons his M-- shall please to call to the great offices of the state, till Mr. P--- will undertake one of these employments or has advertised his good opinion of others, all I can say of him is, *Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.*

The King has been graciously pleased to gratify the earnest desires of the people, by dismissing a Ministry that no one pretends to justify; and at a time of great difficulty, to call to his service, men of undoubted honour and integrity. The best character that can be given of the Ministers who have never been tried, is, that in private life, they



they are men of worth, that by their conduct in parliament, they have proved themselves free and independent, and (if such prodigious weight must be laid on Mr. P's opinion, that no Ministers are to be entitled to the public confidence till they have his fiat to their nomination) that he has been said to have *advised* gentlemen to accept employments under them. These recommendations of themselves, I think, the present Ministers may fairly offer to the people. As to the *Favourite*, it is already clearly proved, that hitherto they have been no instruments of his; and I am inclined to think, that the Experience of the last six weeks before their nomination will make that gentleman see that it is his interest to be quiet. But if he should interpose, I believe I may venture to promise for them, that they will  
 behave

behave with all the propriety, decency, and respect due to the crown ; but at the same time, with all the spirit, firmness, and resolution which the national interest, as well as their own honour and character require : and upon his first known and indisputable appearance in public affairs, will most humbly request his Majesty to permit them to lay their employments at his feet.

As to the last charge, that they are young and unexperienced ; there is not that mystery in the conduct of public affairs which many people apprehend ; good sense, integrity, and application, are the chief requisites I ever heard demanded in that station ; and I believe no candid man will say, that the present first commissioner of the treasury, the secretaries of state, or the chancellor of the exchequer,  
are

are deficient in those qualities, what the others may be I know not and therefore will not say any thing. But in respect to the youth and inexperience of those I have particularized, I must add, that a stranger from what he reads in the papers would naturally conclude that the K— had made three young gentlemen just returned from their travels, his Ministers of state. But how would he be surprized to hear, that general Conway was secretary to the late duke of Devonshire in Ireland, when by a prudent and moderate administration, the disturbances of that country were quieted, and their divisions composed; and is therefore the properer person to be called forth on a similar occasion.

*Who revived those divisions, who opened those wounds again, and made them bleed afresh, I need not mention?* and

that



that this gentleman with the other Ministers were the men, who for the three last years in parliament assisted the opposition against the Favourite, and the late Ministers. And I may appeal to any member of that great assembly, or to any one who was permitted to be present at their debates, whether they did not maintain the cause of liberty with a spirit, firmness, and dignity, worthy of themselves; and shew an intimate knowledge of the constitution, and of our domestic and foreign interests, that might have done honour to the most experienced statesmen. If by the honesty and wisdom of their measures, the firmness of their conduct and application to the duty of their offices, they should be so happy as to justify to the people his M-y's choice, no man in his senses will object, to men in the prime of their life,

life, their youth and inexperience. However if there should be people weak enough to lay any stress on such an objection, to them I reply, that young and inexperienced as they are represented to be, I doubt whether they will be guilty of half the negligence and mistakes, the late discarded Ministers have ; one instance of which appears in the small attention they have paid to the care of Minorca ; a place of great importance to us, if we estimate its value, by the equivalent they give up to France for it in the late treaty of peace. But if we are to judge of it by their conduct since it has been in our possession, it is of little or no consideration ; not a single supply of stores having been sent there from the time it was restored to us, to the hour of their dismissal. Such have been the fruits of the late boasted

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œconomy, an œconomy which has never been able to raise the national credit, but has been sufficient to expose our most important posts defenceless to our enemies. And if years will add any merit to those who now appear equal to the task they have undertaken, let us have the satisfaction to think, that the experience of every day will be constantly defending them from so frivolous a reproach.

Having now laid before the reader a sufficient and ample refutation of the charges brought against the present Ministers, by the writer or writers of "The Principles of the late Changes, impartially examined," I cannot help concluding with an hope to see as fair and candid an exculpation, as I am sure this is of the present Ministers, with regard to the  
unfortunat<sup>e</sup>



unfortunate person who at this time, labours under the most undeserved weight of popular odium; and who perhaps might appear the fairer for his misfortunes, were his case fully and impartially heard.

I am,

My Lord, &c.

[ 32 ]  
unfortunate person who at this time  
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weight of popular odium; and who  
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impartially heard.

I am,

12 MR 58

My Lord,

